THE CRISIS.

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With Rage from *Hell* the *Tyrant*'s Heart may glow,
But He's no *Briton* who can ſtrike the Blow.

EVERY Engliſhman muſt deplore the ill Succeſs, and abhor the unworthy Treatment which attended the *two* late *Conciliatory Plans* in relation to *America*. Pregnant with good Senſe, Benevolence, and ſound Reaſon; they will do eternal Honour to the Wiſdom, Juſtice, Policy, and Humanity, of the *Heads* and *Hearts* that formed them. How different was the Plan of *North*? Crafty, Mean, Inſidious, Impolitic, Irrational, Shallow, and (like himſelf and his Coadjutors) beneath Contempt. This was not treating with *America*, but inſulting her: every Step againſt *her*, hitherto, has been founded in the greateſt *Inhumanity*, the groſſeſt *Ignorance*, and the worſt *Policy*. I will proceed to prove my Aſſertions, and defy the whole Cabal of *Miniſterial Slaughtermen* to confute me. I do not call upon the *Maſter-Butcher*, becauſe He can only be conſidered (after the Part he has acted by *aſſerting*) as an *executive*, and not as a *rational Monſter* in this Buſineſs.—Firſt then, for the *Humanity* of theſe Proceedings. Let it be granted only (as it muſt) that the *Crown* ſtands in the ſame Relation to *America*, as a Parent to her Child, and my firſt Aſſertion proves itſelf. Have any *gentle*, *tender*, *ſenſible* Means, been uſed to reconcile *her*? Have not her humble Remonſtrances, Propoſals,

ſals, Submiſſions, and Supplications, been treated with Contempt?—not ſuffered to lie upon the Table of a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons? Have they been deemed Worthy of a Thought by *her pious* Sovereign? Has *ſhe* not been branded with the ignominious Name of *Rebel*, by Act of Parliament, for no other Reaſon (I mean no *true* one) than becauſe ſhe has *wiſely* and *calmly* deliberated upon, remonſtrated againſt, and ſteadily, but not tumultuouſly, reſented the repeated *Injuries* ſhe has received?—as to *Riots* by *Mobs*, they are not to be imputed to *her* as *Treaſon* and *Rebellion*. *America* (as a Nation moſt unconſtitutionally oppreſſed) has hitherto only deliberated upon her Sufferings:—ſhe has not *acted*.—My Lords *Suffolk*, *Pomfret*, *Radnor*, *Apſley*, *Sandwich*, they have not *acted*.—It is, as yet, no Treaſon, my Lords, to *think*, to *adviſe*, to *fear*, and to *prepare*. You cannot, you dare not, move to annull (as you may wiſh) the Statute of Treaſons in *America*. The *Americans* have as good a Right to *that* as your Lordſhips. I mean as yet, my Lords, becauſe I am not quite ſatisfied that (even in the Preſent *ſmuggled* and *corrupt* Parliament) the Boldeſt and moſt venal Proſtitute, durſt make ſo dangerous a Trial upon the Patience and long Suffrance of this Kingdom.—I will now inform your Lordſhips that it is contrary to the Law of Nations to attempt the Deſtruction even of the moſt inveterate Enemy by Famine, untill he has been firſt ſolemnly ſummoned to *ſubmit*. Have the Americans ever yet been (though, if Men, they ſhortly will be) in Arms? Have they yet had a Proſpect of any other Terms than ſuch as would make them Slaves? Will they be Weak enough to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions? the Preliminaries hitherto propoſed, have been founded in Oppreſſion, not in Reaſon: they are fit for Brutes, not Men. The *lenient*, the *compaſſionate* North, has treated America like the Aſſaſſin of an Alley—with his Knife at *her* Throat, he has *humanely* left it at her Choice to ſtrip herſelf, for Fear ſhe ſhould be ſtripped by him.—Why have the Miniſtry had recourſe *at firſt* to this inhuman Scheme of Famine? They fear the Army will *relent*, when they find they muſt Wade through the *Blood* of their own Countrymen. Their preſent General (Gage) has, to his Honour, declined the Bloody Taſk. Even a Foreigner, to whom the ſame Command was offered, has revolted at the Thought. Is not this Stratagem of *ſtarving* Freemen into *Slavery*, the moſt *Inhuman*, as well as the moſt *Cowardly*, of all others, eſpecially when it is conſidered that all the Remonſtrances of theſe unhappy Sufferers, have been rejected? I ſhould inſult the Reader's underſtanding by waiting for a Reply,—I therefore come to the next Ingredient in the American Perſecution, *Ignorance*.—I muſt firſt Remark that ſome of their wiſe Lordſhips were for having Maryland and Virginia (very remote inland Countrys) prohibited from the Fishery.—Thus far have ſome of the great and ſage Counſellors of this Nation been Ignorant even of the Situation of that Part of their Fellow-Creatures, whom they wiſh to involve in the moſt

dreadful

dreadful of all Calamities,—*Famine*. But the very Scheme itself is *Impracticable*; these wretched People cannot be totally deſtroyed either by Butchery or Famine: their Numbers are great and formidable; in ſuch a vaſt extent of Country their reſourſes will be endleſs: they are not deſtitute of Arms already, and they will be ſupplied with more in ſpite of our *vigilant* Fleet. They have all the Materials neceſſary for War in the Bowels of their Country: they have Artiſts, Handicraftſmen, Manufacturers, and Mechanics of all Sorts; Cattle of all kinds; Fruit of the Earth in vaſt aboundance; fine ſtreams and Rivers: though, no doubt, Adminiſtration (for the ſake of Conſiſtency) will give ſtrict Orders, and pay highly for the *poiſoning* of theſe; but that will not eaſily be effected: theſe People in General, know the uſe of Arms; they have Perſeverance, Courage, Reſolution,—and above all, (moſt *prophetic* Lord Sandwich) they have Virtue, which can never be overcome. Should our Army *ſtrike*, and *fail*, the hatred, enmity, and revolt of America, is fixed for ever: they never will ſubmit to lick the Tyrant-hand, which has once been raiſed againſt their Liberties, their Properties, and their Lives. Under the above Conſiderations, the Preſent ſcheme of Government muſt ſeem Impracticable; if ſo, or if from Rancour and Reſentment, it has been viewed but Partially, it is the groſſeſt Ignorance to purſue it. Should Heaven interpoſe on the Side of Juſtice, we ſhall perceive our Error too late; but were our Attempts by *Sword or Famine*, ſure of Succeſs, Government is only deſtroying its own Vitals.—What then is the Policy of this unnatural War? It is like the War between the Belly and the other Members; the whole State muſt feel its Conſequences. Shallow North told his Houſe of Commons (for it is his) that the Imports from the American Continent were inconſiderable. Now, my Lord? You ought to know (and in Honour you ſhould have declared) that the *Imports* of that Part of America into our Sugar Colonies were the very Life of them: neither Planters, nor Negroes, can Subſiſt without them; particularly in the prohibited, interdicted Article of Fiſh, which, when ſalted, is their general Food. Your Lordſhip by your War, and your intended Famine, has effectually ſtarved and ruined all the Paſſive and obedient Sugar Colonies, as well as your declared Enemies in America. Thus a moſt valuable Fiſhery, a conſiderable Sugar Trade, and Thouſands (perhaps Millions) of Innocent and brave Lives will be ſacrificed by a narrow-minded Miniſtry to wicked Views, and inſatiable Reſentments, in the Reign of a Monarch born a *Briton*! An ancient *Pict*, or a wild *Indian*, (Savage in their Natures) would Bluſh and Shudder at ſuch Proceedings.—With the Colonies and Trade the Revenues muſt ſink. If *royal* Profuſion, and Miniſterial Corruption, were to ſink likewiſe, it would be well; but they will ſtill attempt to draw Blood from the moſt impoveriſhed Veins. The Commerical, the landed Intereſt, the Public Bank, at laſt, muſt feel the Shock. Then, perhaps,

when

when Famine threatens at our own Doors, the Britiſh Lion will be rouſed.—Then, (for I will *Prophecy* in my turn) comes a Revolution, fatal to Minions, Penſioners, Placemen, Knaves, and Tyrants; but happy for the Nation, if from the Aſhes of all theſe Peſts, the Rights of ſuffering and inſulted Engliſhmen, can be once more eſtabliſhed.—We ſhall find it to our Coſt, in vain to ſend Engliſh Soldiers (none but Scotch will do the Buſineſs) againſt Engliſh Breaſts. I am of Opinion (let the Wiſhes of the Miniſtry be what they will) that if every Officer who goes upon this Aſſaſſination were a Burgoyne, he would be Diſappointed of the Blood he pants for, his Command will be a *Sinecure*, and his Victory a brave and virtuous Deſertion. All who deſerved the Names of Soldiers, would throw down their Arms, and Embrace their gallant and unhappy Countrymen. An Engliſh Army will not, and a Navy cannot deſtroy the Liberties of America: the Miniſtry, who wiſh to deceive the Nation, are (as they frequently are) deceived themſelves: they cannot execute their Plan without extraordinary and ſucceſſive (almoſt perpetual) Drafts of Forces. Should the patient Spirit of this Kingdom, riſe at ſuch a Time in Arms, and France and Spain add to the Horrors of a CIVIL WAR, even in the midſt of theſe Calamities, it will be ſome Conſolation that the Adviſers, Abettors, and deteſtable Heads of theſe diabolical Meaſures, cannot long eſcape the Vengeance of an injured People.

CASCA.

Notwithſtanding we have given almoſt the uſual Quantity of Matter already, we cannot here omit without injury to our Readers and the Cauſe of Liberty, the ſpirited City Remonſtrance which will do immortal Honour to the Heads and Hearts of thoſe who framed it.

The ADDRESS, REMONSTRANCE, and PETITION of the CITY of LONDON.

"WE your Majeſty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lord "Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, beg "leave to approach the Throne, and to declare our *Abhorrence* "of the Meaſures which have been purſued, and are now purſuing, to the Oppreſſion of our fellow Subjects in America. "Theſe Meaſures are big with all the Conſequences which can "alarm a free and commercial People. A deep and perhaps a "*Fatal* wound to Commerce; the *ruin* of Manufactures; the "*Diminution* of the Revenue, and conſequent *increaſe* of Taxes; "the *Alienation* of the Colonies; and the *Blood* of your Majeſty's Subjects.

"But your Petitioners look with leſs Horror at the Conſequences, than at the *purpoſe* of thoſe Meaſures. Not deceived by "the *ſpecious Artifice* of calling Deſpotiſm—Dignity, they plain-

"ly

" ly perceive that the *real* Purpose is—*To eſtabliſh Arbitrary*
" *Power over all America.*

" Your Petitioners conceive the Liberties of the whole to be
" inevitably connected with thoſe of every part of an Empire
" founded on the common Rights of Mankind. They cannot
" therefore obſerve, without the greateſt Concern and Alarm, the
" Conſtitution fundamentally violated in any Part of your Ma-
" jeſty's Dominions. They eſteem it an eſſential, unalterable
" principle of Liberty, the Source and Security of all conſtitu-
" tional Rights—that no Part of the Dominion can be *Taxed*
" without being *repreſented.* Upon this great leading Principle,
" they moſt ardently wiſh to ſee their fellow Subjects in Ameri-
" ca ſecured in what their humble Petition to your Majeſty prays
" for—*Peace, Liberty*, and *Safety.*—Subordination in Commerce,
" under which the Colonies have always chearfully acquieſced,
" is, they conceive, all that this Country ought in Juſtice to re-
" quire. From this ſubordination ſuch advantages flow, by all
" the Profits of their Commerce centering here, as fully com
" penſate this Nation for the Expence incurred, to which they al
" ſo contribute in Men and Money for their Defence and Protec-
" tion during a general War; and in their Provincial Wars they
" have manifeſted their Readineſs and Reſoluion to defend
" themſelves. To require more of them would, for this Reaſon,
" derogate from the Juſtice and Magnanimity which have been
" hitherto the Pride and Character of this Country.

" It is therefore with the deepeſt Concern, that we have ſeen
" the ſacred ſecurity of Repreſentation in their Aſſemblies *ureſt-*
" *ed* from them—the Trial by Jury aboliſhed—and the odious
" powers of *Exciſe* extended to all caſes of Revenue—the
" ſanctuary of their Houſes laid open to violation at the will and
" Pleaſure of every Officer and Servant in the Cuſtoms—the diſ-
" penſation of Juſtice *corrupted*, by rendering their Judges *de-*
" *pendent* for their Seats and Salaries on the will of the *Crown*—
" Liberty and Life rendered *Precarious* by ſubjecting them to
" be dragged over the Ocean, and tried for Treaſon or Felony
" here; where the Diſtance, making it impoſſible for the *moſt*
" *Guiltleſs* to maintain his Innocence, muſt deliver him up a
" victim to miniſterial Vengeance—Soldiers and others in Ame-
" rica have been inſtigated to *ſhed the Blood* of the People, by
" eſtabliſhing a mode of Trial which holds out Impunity for ſuch
" *Murder*—the Capital of New-England has been puniſhed
" with unexampled Rigour—untried and unheard—involving the
" Innocent and the ſuſpected in one common and inhuman cala-
" mity—Chartered Rights have been taken away, without any
" forfeiture proved, in order to deprive the People of every le-
" gal exertion againſt the Tyranny of their Rulers—the Habeas
" Corpus Act, and Trial by Jury, have been ſuppreſſed; and
" *French deſpotic* Government, with the *Roman Catholic Religion*,
" have been *Eſtabliſhed by Law*, over an extenſive Part of your
" Majeſty's Dominions in America; dutiful Petitions for redreſs

" of

"of these Grievances, from all your Majesty's American Subjects have been fruitless.

"To fill up the Measure of these oppressions, an Army has been "sent to enforce them.

"Superadded to this, Measures are now planned upon the "*most servile* Policy of starving our fellow Subjects into a total "Surrender of their Liberties, and an unlimited Submission to "Arbitrary Government.

"These Grievances have driven your Majesty's faithful Subjects to despair, and compelled them to have recourse to that "*resistance* which is *justified* by the great principles of the Constitution, actuated by which, at the glorious period of the Revolution, our Ancestors *transferred* the Imperial Crown of these "Realms from the Popish and Tyrannic race of the *Stuarts*, to the Illustrious and Protestant House of *Brunswick*.

"Your Petitioners are persuaded, that these Measures originate in the *secret advice* of Men who are *Enemies* equally to "your Majesty's *Title* and to the *Liberties* of your People.

"That your Majesty's Ministers carry them into Execution by "the same *Fatal Corruption* which has enabled them to wound "the Peace and violate the Constitution of this Country—thus "they poison the Fountain of Public Security, and render that "Body which should be the guardian of *Liberty*, a formidable "instrument of *Arbitrary Power*.

"Your Petitioners do therefore most earnestly beseech your "Majesty to *dismiss immediately*, and *forever*, from your Councils, "those Ministers and *Advisers*, as the first Step towards a full "redress of those Grievances which alarm and afflict your whole "People. So shall Peace and Commerce be restored, and the "*Confidence* and *Affection* of all your Majesty's Subjects, be the "*solid Supporters* of your *Throne*."

The KING's ANSWER,

Which would do Honour to any BUTCHER, MONSTER, or TYRANT *on Earth*.

"It is with the utmost Astonishment that I find any of *My* "Subjects capable of encouraging the *Rebellious* Disposition "which unhappily, exists in some of *My* Colonies in North "America.

"Having entire Confidence in the *Wisdom* of *My* Parliament, "the great Council of the Nation; I will steadily pursue *those* "Measures which *they* have recommended for the support of the "constitutional Rights of Great Britain, and the Protection of the "Commercial interests of *My* Kingdoms."

N. B. The Letter signed J. B. (Secretary) come safe to Hand. *It* is far from the Design of the Authors of the *CRISIS* to impose upon the Public, and they will allways think themselves obliged to those who promote the Sale of their Paper; but they beg Leave to inform J B. that they cannot find UNDERSTANDING for him together with *Matter*, *Paper*, and *Printing*, at the *same Price*; however they faithfully Promise to stand *corrected* by *him* when he has learned to SPELL.

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